DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 401 344 UD 031 135

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TITLE The Next Generation: The Mentoring of African American Graduate Students on Predominately White University Campuses.
PUB DATE Apr 96
NOTE 63p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, NY, April 8-12, 1996).
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Academic Persistence; *Black Students; College Faculty; Collegiality; Constructivism (Learning); *Graduate Students; Graduate Study; *Interprofessional Relationship; Interviews; *Mentors; *Professional Development; Teacher Student Relationship
IDENTIFIERS African Americans; *White Colleges

ABSTRACT

The unique bond between mentors and mentees is a complex dyad with unusual strength and trust. It is a relationship of special importance to African American graduate students, who have cited mentor relationships as vital to their persistence in graduate school. African American graduate students do face great difficulties in finding adequate mentoring relationships. This study attempted to identify the behaviors exhibited by mentors of African American graduate students at predominantly White universities that contribute to the success of mentoring relationships. The study was guided by a constructivist paradigm. Data for the study were gathered through in-depth recorded telephone interviews, open-ended, but focused around an interview protocol. Over half of those interviewed reported intense mentoring experiences during their time in graduate school. Roles performed by mentors were characterized as academic, facilitative, professional development, career support, and personal support. The mentor's time was the commodity most needed by graduate students, and personal characteristics of the mentors meant more to the students than activity setting and positional characteristics. The value attributed by these students to mentorship indicates the great need for mentoring by university faculty for African American graduate students on predominantly White campuses. (Contains 84 references.) (SLD)

The Next Generation: The Mentoring of African American Graduate Students on Predominately White University Campuses

Paper Presented at the
Annual Meeting of The American Education Research Association,
April 8-12, 1996, Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y.

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Introduction

Recent demographic projections suggest that by the year 2000 one out of every three American students will be non-white (Bjork & Thompson, 1989). This change in student demographics will occur during the same period, when primarily due to retirements, one-third of the present college professors will be replaced (Smith & Davidson, 1992). However, as the need for faculty replacement is being forecasted, increased diversity among those replacements is being sought at colleges and universities throughout this nation. Notwithstanding, the low production of minority graduates from institutions of higher education renders the search for a diverse future professoriate one of despair and pessimism (Magner, 1993).

Astin (1982) and others have long discussed the "pipeline problem." This problem involves preparing adequate numbers of underrepresented students in higher education to fulfill the professoriate needs of the future. With future fears now becoming present realities, researchers rehearse old statistics to explain the nation's lagging status in the production of minority professors, particularly African American professors (Goertz & Kuh, 1992).

Significance

Minorities, especially African Americans, historically have been underrepresented in the professoriate due to their significant underrepresentation in undergraduate colleges/universities and graduate/professional schools. Although 13 percent of Americans are African American, their representation in graduate schools has been less than that. Though recent reports reveal that African-American undergraduate enrollment is on the increase (College Enrollment, 1992), graduate enrollment continues to decline. African Americans made up 5.0 percent of the total graduate school enrollment in this country in 1986. However,

only 4.7 percent of the Master's degrees awarded were to African Americans and only 3.1 percent of the Ph.D.s were awarded to African Americans (Bjork & Thompson, 1989; Education That Works, 1990). Almost six years later, these figures have not changed significantly. In 1992 only 3.7% of all doctorates were awarded to African Americans (Blacks Earn Fewer Doctorates, 1993). According to attrition figures released by the Quality Education for Minorities Project (Education That Works, 1990) and an article in The Chronicle of Higher Education (Blacks Earn Fewer Doctorates, 1993), foreign, nonresident students fare better in American universities than African American students.

Access to graduate and professional education for African Americans has not been as successful as access at the undergraduate level (Lehner, 1980). Further, it is known that the enrollment of African Americans in graduate school lags behind the enrollment of their white counterparts, and their attrition rate is higher (Baratz-Snowden, Brown, Nettles, & Wrightsman, 1981).

The attrition rate of African Americans in higher education has been researched by several educators (Green, 1989; Kraft, 1991; Wells, 1989). Much of the early research suggested that high attrition is uniquely related to African Americans' pre-collegiate experiences and/or academic factors. Contrary to these traditional findings, the current research on African-American graduate students' persistence reveals that traditional factors used to predict white students' persistence are invalid for predicting African-American graduate students' success (Faison, 1993; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1987). These results show that high school grades, Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, Graduate Record Exam (GRE) scores, and parents' occupations are no different among those African

Americans who persist in higher education and those who do not complete their course of study (Kraft, 1991; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985; Robinson, 1990). Therefore, the assumption that pre-collegiate factors are the best predictors of African Americans' persistence in predominantly white institutions appears unreliable. Conversely, Kraft's (1991) study of African-American undergraduates on predominantly white campuses reveals that approximately 60% of African-American students and Euro-American students on these campuses graduate in the top fifth of their high school class. The same results are obtained when a comparison of mothers' level of education and previous academic track (college prep courses) are considered for both groups (Kraft, 1991). Therefore, characteristics that differentiate persisters from non-persisters may be ascribed to experiences that students have during matriculation in institutions of higher education rather than traits, characteristics and experiences had before entrance (Robinson, 1990). Research indicates that one critical experience during graduate school enrollment that has a significant influence on African-American students' persistence is mentoring (Blackwell, 1983; Faison, 1993; Nettles, 1988).

Blackwell's (1983) study on networking and mentoring among African-American graduate and professional school students suggests that the mentoring experience is tantamount to not only successfully completing the graduate degree but also to meeting career goals. Further, a study by this researcher (Faison, 1993) reveals that African-American graduate students overwhelmingly credit having a faculty mentor with completing their graduate degree. In this recent study of African-American graduate school persisters, the mentoring variable is the only significant predictor of graduate students' success (Faison, 1993). The variables of parents' education, college grade point average, and Graduate Record Exam scores were not

significant predictors.

Definitional Limitations

Although mentoring relationships have been studied more widely within the past decade, a continuing problem in the research is the lack of definitional consensus. "Mentor," the entrusted godfather of Telemachos, son of King Odysseus, was a guide who was older, wiser, and more experienced than his younger protégé. Although Mentor was assigned to mentor and guide Telemachos' life, Mentor's commitment to oversee and direct him reflects the same dynamics involved in many modern mentoring relationships that are more deliberately formed.

Early researchers (Merriam, 1983; Wrightman, 1981) and their contemporaries (Jacobi, 1991; Smith & Davidson, 1992) note the ambiguity in the conceptualization of the mentoring phenomenon. This ambiguity has led to difficulty in identifying and measuring the components of successful mentoring relationships. Healy and Welchert (1990) further note that traditional definitions of mentoring lack comprehensiveness and functionability. Therefore, definitions often do not accommodate the observations actually made when studying mentoring relationships and do not distinguish mentoring from other superior/subordinate human interactions (Healy & Welchert, 1990).

Notwithstanding, Jacobi (1991) offers an extensive list of definitions compiled from education, psychology and management. Common to the definitions derived from higher education studies are elements of an experienced adult who befriends and guides the academic and/or career development of less experienced adults (Smith & Davidson, 1992). The roles of these experienced adults can range from teaching, coaching, guiding, and counseling to

provoking and facilitating the personal, academic and/or career development of the less experienced adult (Kram, 1988).

Busch (1985) further cites O'Neil's theoretical parameters of mentoring relationships as a context for the developing definition of mentoring. This researcher states that there are four major components that influence the mentoring relationship. These components are: (1) mutuality, which refers to the sharing of feelings and values; (2) comprehensiveness, which captures the interpersonal and role characteristics in the mentoring relationship; (3) congruence, which is the degree to which mentors-mentees agree on the purpose of the relationship; and (4) gender sensitivity, which involves the mentor and mentee assisting each other in overcoming issues that arise due to "gender-role socialization" (Busch, 1985, p.258). To O'Neil's list, Irvine (1994) adds a fifth component--reciprocity. This reciprocity involves the mentor's and mentee's interest being centered around a single issue or in the same area(s). These common interests create an atmosphere conducive to sharing information, ideas and skills, which ultimately benefits both mentees and mentors, thus producing a reciprocally beneficial effect.

Although O'Neil's theory proposes stages of the mentoring relationship similar to Kram's (1988) stages, the emphasis of the definition according to Busch (1985) is on the mentor-mentee interaction based on the four aforementioned components. Although no empirical evidence is offered to support O'Neils's theory, it is postulated that functional mentoring relations have a high proportion of mutuality, comprehensiveness, congruence and gender sensitivity (Busch, 1985).

Another major definitional dilemma is created by the scarcity of research completed on

the mentoring relationships of African-American graduate students at predominantly white universities. In a Minority Graduate Project Report, Nettles (1988) strongly suggests that the African-American graduate school students' experiences are so vastly different from those of Euro-Americans and Hispanic-Americans that they merit different programs to address their specific needs. Further, Nettles (1990) reports that African-American students more so than their Euro-American counterparts feel that mentoring is essential to their successful completion of post-secondary schooling. Is it therefore possible that mentoring is context specific? If so, the definitions offered in traditional research may be totally inadequate for defining the successful mentoring relationships of African-American graduate students. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, mentoring will be initially defined as a "dynamic, reciprocal relationship" (Healy & Welchart, 1990 p.17) in a university environment between a more experienced adult (mentor) and a less experienced adult (mentee). The major objective of the mentoring relationship is to prepare the mentee to enter the organization as a colleague while providing the mentor with the opportunity to fulfill what Erikson refers to as "generativity" (Healy & Welchert, 1990). "Generativity" refers to the mentor's personal need to create a new generation or to share valuable knowledge and experiences with someone younger (Levinson et al., 1978). This need usually starts at the onset of the mid-life transition stage of adult development and continues through old age. It was therefore plausible to foresee the emergence of a more contextualized definition of mentoring for African American graduate students as the research progressed.

Theoretical Constructs Undergirding Mentoring

Although the types of mentoring relationships will be discussed later, it is important to

note that mentoring relationships of all kinds represent special cases of developmental and sociocultural processes (Gallimore, Tharp, & John-Steiner, 1993). These processes involve adult learning and development and how this development affects the maintenance of mentoring relationships. A brief review of the theoretical background on adult learning and development in adult mentoring relationships and the theoretical constructs that undergird mentoring in general will help to frame the literature review.

The study of mentoring has most often been guided by a focus on the cognitive development of the mentee during the mentoring experience. Generally, emphasis has been placed on the development of the mentee's skills, competence, and career and professional development (Gillimore et al., 1990). This perspective of the mentoring experience focuses on the finality of the relationship--the product of having been mentored. The tendency to identify the overt behaviors and the associated meanings of these behaviors renders only a partial explanation of what makes the mentoring experience unique from other dyads. An attempt to explain the learning functions that make these experiences different, especially in adult development, remains a difficult endeavor.

One of the best-known theories of adult learning--andragogy, "the art and science of helping adults learn," (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991, p.249) has been severely criticized in the research (Brookfield, 1986; Hartree, 1984). Merriam and Caffarella (1991) argue that because andragogy appears to be situation-specific and is not really limited to adults, the explanatory and predictive functions that are typically associated with theory are not clear with andragogy. Knowles (1980) defines andragogy as a "model of assumptions" (p. 43) because it is based on five assumptions that are characteristic of adult learners. However, only three of the five

assumptions lend direct support to understanding the learning of graduate school students (mentees) during early adulthood.

First, the assumption that one moves from a dependent personality toward a more self-directing personality as a result of maturation, while not profound, is typically the overall goal of the mentoring experience. As mentees are self-actualized, which is the second assumption that explains adult learning, their competence is increased as a result of the accumulation of experiences facilitated by the mentor. Finally, the third assumption discusses how adult learners' readiness to learn is directly related to the developmental tasks of their social role (Knowles, 1980). In other words, the mentee wants to be mentored. While in the mentoring relationship the mentee's major role is to learn from the mentor. Therefore, while andragogy does not completely explain how mentees are able to learn during the mentoring relationship, it does offer an understanding of characteristics of the mentee during this period of adult development. The fourth and fifth assumptions--a change in time perspective and the intrinsic nature of adult motivation--do not directly relate to the focus of this study.

Other researchers of adult development offer assumptions that help to explain how mentoring relationships function in the development of adults. Levinson et al. (1978) describe an intense "love" that is characteristic of a parent-child relationship when depicting the mentoring relationship. They further characterize the mentoring relationship as existing between individuals where there is an 8 to 15 year difference in their age. Although Levinson et al.'s (1978) characterization of mentoring is the result of a very limited study (interviews with 40 men), they assert that not having this type of relationship can be detrimental to the mentees' psychological and career development. They equate the effects of no mentoring or

poor mentoring in early adulthood to those of no parenting or poor parenting in early childhood (Levinson et al., 1978).

Flaxman et al. (1988) concur with Levinson et al. (1978) in that they theorize that the "attachment" between the two individuals during the mentoring relationship must be of such magnitude that the mentee begins to identify with the mentor. This identification requires a form of specialized socialization. The mentee is successfully socialized through participation in increased activities set up by the mentor. These activities are purposely arranged and involve the mentee-mentor having joint participation in what Gallimore et al. (1990) call the activity setting. Very much like in the parent-child relationship, the interaction during joint activities between the mentee-mentor exists mainly for the purpose of socializing and developing the mentee.

It is not enough that the mentee and mentor are attracted to one another. As was stated earlier, mentoring relationships represent special developmental and sociocultural processes (Gallimore et al., 1990). In order for mentoring to occur, there must be the development of the mentee by the mentor in area(s) that the mentee would not be able to accomplish without the mentor's assistance. Vygotsky's (1978) cognitive development theory, which references the zone of proximal development, adequately explains the role of the mentor in the mentoring relationship. Gallimore et al. (1990) report that mentoring is non-existent until a zone of proximal development is opened and through joint participation of the mentee-mentor, the mentee is assisted to do what (s)he could not do without the mentor. According to social learning theory (Bandura cited in Noe, 1988), which describes parent-child relationships, this direct assistance by the mentor is used to assist the mentee to acquire behavioral patterns and

strengthen expectations regarding the ability of the mentee to perform. However, because it is theorized that adults are more self-directed during learning tasks than children (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991), in order to establish the type of trust relationship that is present during mentoring, there must be the type of bonding between mentor-mentee that is mutually dependent, trustworthy and respectful. Emerson (1962) in his discussion of the power aspects of social relations further describes the type of bonding represented in adult mentoring relationships. He makes it clear that this type of bonding produces individuals that are mutually dependent upon each other. Therefore, the power to control or influence the relationship lies in the aspects of the relationship that the mentor-mentee mutually value. This mutuality, thereby, lessens the fear of control by any one person and helps to establish mutual trust and respect.

Auster (1984) succinctly provides a description of the kind of bond that is characteristic in the mentor-mentee relationship. This researcher provides a sociological conceptualization of the mentor-mentee relationship as "a dyadic role set involving a power dependent exchange relationship with a strong potential for role strain" (Auster, 1984, p.143). For the mentor and mentee, the mentoring relationship is not just another dyadic relationship. It is considered by both to be a primal one. Therefore, the likelihood of strain that exists is due not only to the perceived importance of the relationship, but also to the possessive element that can always become a key factor. Auster (1984) further quotes Simmel's (1950) "irreplaceable couplet" (p.143) concept as the source of this possessiveness that usually exists in the mentor-mentee relationship. Without a doubt, this possessiveness, which is often seen as advantageous, can also be a source of "sentimentalism and elegiac problems" (Auster, 1984, p.143). The

mentor-mentee relationship, therefore, must be understood in light of the tremendous impact that such a relationship can have on both the graduate student (mentee) and the mentor.

In summary, an understanding of adult learning and development, along with understanding the social processes involved in adult bonding through mentoring relationships, does help to explain the importance of the mentoring relationships of adult graduate students. The special attachment behaviors common to the mentor-mentee dyad are necessary for both the processes of socialization and the activity experiences to occur. It is only in a relationship of mutual trust, dependency, and respect that the many zones of proximal development experienced by graduate students can be discovered, developed, and satisfied.

Review of the Literature

Introduction

The bond between the mentor and mentee reflects a unique strength and trust that is not present in other dyads. Granovetter (1972) describes a bond as deriving its strength from the "linear combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services" (p. 1361) that are experienced between individuals. The mentor-mentee relationship is an excellent example of this type of strong evolving bond. Granovetter (1972) references Homan's (1950) notion that increased time spent in interactions between two individuals yields stronger bonds. Granovetter (1972) further hypothesizes that the stronger the tie between two individuals, the more likely they are to be similar in a variety of ways.

Such a unique bonding is experienced by many junior executives as they embark upon new careers. These junior executives report that much of the accelerated learning they enjoy is the result of these strong, unique bonds formed in mentoring relationships with senior, more

experienced executives (Collins & Scott, 1978). Not only has this mentoring been credited with career progress in the business world, but many schools of higher education have implemented programs aimed at helping students progress toward completion and career entrance (Valdez & Duran, 1991). However, a large sector of society--African Americans--has been largely left out of the mentoring cycle. This is especially true among African-American graduate students.

One of the main reasons for this lack of participation among African- American students in mentoring relationships is the racial makeup of available mentors in higher education. More than 80% of African-American graduate students in this country are matriculating on predominantly white university campuses (Jackson, 1986; Wilson, 1988). However, less than 4.0% of faculty on these campuses are African American (Anderson, 1993; Bjork & Thompson, 1989). Unfortunately, trend data reveal little promise for a change in the racial composition of the university professoriate. This issue of the absence of African-American faculty on predominately white campuses and its effect on the attrition of African-American students is clearly addressed in the research of Blackwell (1983), Nettles (1990), and Faison (1993).

The cultural and interactional differences that exist between African- American students and the predominantly white faculty is another inhibitor to students' academic progress (Allen, 1985; Faison, 1993; Steward, Jackson, & Jackson, 1990). The frequent lack of acceptance of the presentational and interactional styles of African-American students also creates difficulty for African-American students on predominantly white campuses. Majority professors' reactions to these interactional differences often impede the formation of the

unique bonds that are essential for mentoring relationships.

These differences place an added strain on African-American students when attempting to form mentoring relationships between themselves and non-African-American faculty. Particularly, Bennett & Okinaka (1990) discuss the extreme social isolation experienced by minority students on majority campuses. Robinson's (1990) study of college and graduate school students' persistence in higher education reveals that all students, regardless of race, have slower progression rates and lower grade point averages whenever they are the minority on campus. That is, the social isolation experienced among students who are members of the minority population on any campus accounts for an overall lack of a sense of well-being.

This strain adds to other identified problems experienced by African- American graduate students which causes student attrition (Jenkins, 1983). In particular, one recent study of the persistence of African-American graduate students, Faison (1993) cites the financial strain of pursuing a graduate degree as possibly the most difficult obstacle for African-American graduate students to overcome. Research by Blackwell (1987), Mooney (1989), Pruitt and Isaac (1985) also highlights the extreme difficulty African-American graduate students encounter when trying to finance their graduate school education. Although universities award assistantships, fellowships, and opportunities for graduate teaching experiences, few of the participants in Faison's (1993) study had ever been graduate teaching assistants (17.0%), graduate research assistants (14.0%) or had ever had an opportunity to work on a major professor's research project (10.0%). In addition to the financial burdens experienced by these students, they report a lack of special support services that address their needs as another area of strain. Finally, and perhaps of more consequence, African-American

students cite some faculty members' disrespect for their in-class responses as well as their choices of research topics as stress factors (Faison, 1993).

Several African-American doctoral candidates voice that without a mentor or someone to navigate the climate, especially at the dissertation stage, graduate students actually "strangle" (Faison, 1993, p. 59). Although there are only a few studies that look at the school experiences of graduate students by race, Nettles, (1990) in his examination of the differences among graduate students, offers some interesting information. This researcher's study reports that African- American graduate students appear to have the greatest need for a mentoring relationship of any ethnic group included in the study (Nettles, 1990). But what is the nature of these very important relationships? How are they initiated? And by whom are they initiated?

The above questions will be answered by looking at the mentoring literature in three distinct areas: (1) the characteristics of mentoring relationships that distinguish them from other human encounters; (2) the different types of mentoring relationships; and (3) a summary discussion of the mentoring relationships of African-American graduate school students.

Characteristics of Mentors and Faculty-Student Mentoring Relationships

Attempts to distinguish mentoring relationships from other types of superior/subordinate relationships have been a very difficult research task. Perhaps one way around this typology dilemma is to discuss the nature of the bond represented in the mentor-mentee relationship. This bonding relationship between students and university faculty can be understood by reviewing Tinto's (1975) social and academic integration model of student attrition. Simply stated, students' cultural (familial) backgrounds, aptitude, personality

attributes and commitment to institutions impact the way in which students interact with their university. If the students' level of interaction produces a satisfactory integration into the academic and social environment of the university, attrition is lessened. However, for African-American graduate students who are often already experiencing the strain of being in a hostile environment (Faison, 1993), integration into the university environment is impeded, unless there are intervening factors that will assist them in navigating through these unique difficulties. The mentor has been identified by a number of African-American graduate students as a very important intervening factor (Blackwell, 1983; Faison, 1993; Nettles, 1988). The bond formed between the African-American graduate student and the mentor is key to the student's satisfaction, thus, successful student matriculation.

Although some graduate students refer to their mentors as advisors, role models and guides, Anderson and Ramey (1990) make clear distinctions between mentoring relationships and these other types of dyadic relationships. For example, these researchers distinguish the passive influence of the role model from the active and direct influence of the mentor. The role model possesses the skills or qualities that the observer (mentee) desires. The exchange of these skills involves the observer's interpretation and approximation of these skills or qualities. In other words, the observer chooses the role model who may or may not be aware that (s)he is serving as a role model to the individual. Then the observer (mentee) mimics his/her perception of these desired behaviors (Anderson & Ramey, 1990). The fact that the role model does not necessarily have any choice about who or what (s)he is perceived to be or about having any interactions with the observer negates classification of the experience as a 'relationship'. This, by definition, limits the extent to which any identifiable strong bond can

be formulated. Therefore, the role model cannot be considered a mentor by this definition.

Alleman, Cochran, Doverspike and Newman (1984) agree that the mentor is directly involved in influencing the mentees' development. However, they argue against the assertion that only certain personality types can be mentors or that successful mentoring relationships involve individuals that share similar characteristics, personalities and background experiences. Aguilar-Gaxiola (1984) supports Alleman et al's. (1984) findings, which suggest there is no evidence that mentors possess common characteristics that distinguish them from non-mentors. However, some researchers suggest that mentors and mentees may subconsciously and consciously choose relationships with individuals that are characteristically like themeselves (Valverde cited in Irvine, 1994). Whether this is a projection of future desired behavior, wishful thinking or a comparison of morals and values, is not clear. Yet, to assume the possibility that the mentor-mentee relationship is formed by persons with compatible personal characteristics or qualities is logical. Many successful mentoring experiences are based on participants sharing common goals, perceptions, and worldviews (Aguilar-Gaxiola, 1984).

The sharing of common goals and perceptions, however, does not preclude the establishment or enrichment of mentoring relationships. During the mentoring relationship mentees' goals and even worldviews still may be emerging and are not concrete. Therefore, the possibility remains that mentees, by virtue of their association and socialization, may adopt behaviors and patterns that are similar to those of their mentors. This is facilitated as mentors exhibit "mentor-like" behaviors (Alleman et al., 1984). These mentor-like behaviors simply involve the mentor commiting to developing a novice in the organization or profession and

dedicating the tremendous amount of time and sharing of skills that the novice needs to develop (Alleman et al., 1984). These researchers suggest that anyone can become a mentor.

Alleman et al. (1984) gave the Jackson Personality Inventory and a Biological Information Questionnaire to 50 mentor-mentee dyads. This provided the data on which the researchers performed Q-mode factor analysis to develop profiles of personality characteristics and background profiles on these dyads. The results indicate that while mentors and non-mentors were found to behave differently, this difference was not due to any innate set of attributes or characteristics among mentors. Rather, the difference between mentors and non-mentors is in what they choose to do, not in who they are (Alleman et al., 1984). However, Adams (1992) reports that some essential characteristics of successful mentors, while not innate, do include that they: (1) must be in a postition to share time, advice and resourses; and (2) must have a reputation of producing quality research in a timely manner. Assuming that these researchers are correct in their claims that mentors can be developed, it becomes important to look at the function(s) and/or the role(s) of these mentors.

Functions of Mentors

Kram (1988) gives a lengthy and perhaps the most widely referenced explanation of the functions of mentors in mentoring relationships. As a result of studying 18 pairs of manager (mentor)--protégé (mentee) relationships, Kram summarizes the mentors' roles as providing career functions and psychosocial functions. Career functions are those roles which help the protégé (mentee) to learn the internal workings of the organization. In addition, the career function of mentors enhances the mentees' chances of advancing in the organization when the mentor sponsors, exposes, and channels assignments to the mentee.

On the other hand, Kram (1988) discusses the psychosocial functions of the mentor. Due to the trusting bond that develops between the mentor-mentee (Auster, 1984), the relationship is often based on a friendship. In this friendship, the mentor provides counseling, acceptance and confirmation for the mentee (Kram, 1988). These psychosocial elements help to develop the mentees' sense of efficacy and competence. As a result of receiving personalized encouragement from a respected member of the organization, the mentee's professional effectiveness and confidence are enhanced.

Although both the career and psychosocial functions are needed in an effective mentoring relationship, the function exhibited will depend upon the stage of the mentoring relationship. Kram (1983) identifies four distinct periods/stages in which mentoring relationships enter. The first period is the initiation stage. During this period, the relationship begins and becomes important to both parties. The mentor usually provides some initial coaching, teaching and guidance during this period. The career function of the mentor is not really evident during this stage. Secondly, cultivation occurs. During this period, the focus is mainly on the mentee as the mentor provides both career and psychosocial functions that help to develop the mentee's professional competence and confidence. The separation stage is the third stage. It is at this stage that the mentoring relationship ends. Kram (1988) discusses the strain associated with the separation, noted by Granovetter (1972) earlier. During this separation period, resentment and hostility may emerge as a result of the mentee wanting and needing less guidance and more autonomy in his/her work. Finally, the redefinition phase occurs when the mentoring relationship has been dissolved and the emotions associated with the separation have somewhat subsided. The mentee-mentor relationship in its

aforementioned form is no longer needed. The mentor and mentee are now ready to develop a peer-like friendship.

Valdez and Duran (1991), further describe four dominant roles of the mentor. These roles, perhaps are reflective within the roles identified by Kram (1988). They include: role modeling, professional socialization, advocacy and providing emotional support.

Despite the fact that these functions and roles were observed by Kram (1988) in mentoring relationships in the business world, researchers of academic mentoring consistently reference these functions when describing the mentoring relationships between students and their university mentors (Adams, 1992; Cameron & Blackburn, 1981; Holland, 1993). However, just as the psychosocial and career functions are more evident at different stages of the mentoring process, so are these functions associated more with the type of mentoring found in higher education (Chao et al., 1991).

Types of Mentoring Relationships

There are two basic types of mentoring relationships prominent in the higher education literature--formal (facilitative) and informal mentoring. Formal mentoring relationships are those relationships that are the result of organizationally arranged, structured relationships (Chao et al.,1991), where the mentee is matched with a mentor based on pre-arranged criteria. Formal mentoring will more than likely possess an element of external coercion. The psychosocial function of the mentor is said to be associated with formalized mentoring (Noe, 1988). However, the main purpose of formalized mentoring programs is to expose outsiders to the particulars of the inside culture of an organization over a designated period of time (Phillips-Jones, 1983).

Phillips-Jones (1983) and other researchers (Chao & Gardner, 1992; Bower, 1990) have discussed critical factors that are necessary in successful formalized mentoring relationships. They include such factors as: (1) selecting mentors and mentees, (2) making participation in the relationship optional to both mentor and mentee, (3) allowing a fair period of time for orientation to the objective(s) of the mentoring relationship, and (4) making sure that the mentoring relationship is supported by the larger management of the organization (Phillip-Jones, 1983). Bower (1990) suggests that mentors should self-select to participate in formalized mentoring programs. This lessens the degree of pressure felt by mentors that can decrease their motivation to actually perform the mentoring tasks.

Moore (1982) discusses seven strategies of an effective formalized mentoring program. They include: mentors providing accessibility and frequent interaction, allowing protégés to work with high-level leaders, insisting that mentees receive feedback from mentors, acknowledging successful mentors in the program, allowing mentors and mentees to fail, selecting mentors and mentees from diverse pools of talented people, and making sure that the organization has made a commitment to the mentoring program. These strategies ensure that mentees have the opportunity not only to receive the psychosocial benefits that are often associated with formalized mentoring, but to benefit from career development functions of the mentor as well. Moore (1982) suggests that these career development functions must be built into the formalized mentoring process.

Phillip-Jones (1983), further suggests that mentor training should be a part of the career and professional development of all administrators/managers. This would ensure that members of the pool of potential mentors have received some of the basic training that is

needed to develop mentoring relationships. Phillip-Jones (1983) also suggests that the phases or cyles through which all mentoring relationships must go, but especially formalized relationships, should be kept short. The identified objectives during each stage must remain the primary focus to ensure that mentees are receiving the intended training.

On the other hand, informal mentoring usually originates from informal friendships (Chao et al., 1991; Levinson et al., 1978). Many mentoring relationships begin informally (Levinson, 1978; Phillips-Jones, 1983) and develop as individuals realize that they have similar goals and interests (Heinrich, 1990). These relationships go through a series of stages where the mentee receives the benefit of both the psychosocial and the career functions that mentors provide (Chao, 1992). Levinson (1978) suggests that informal mentoring relationships cannot be discussed in formal terms because the bond is so special that it must be described in terms of "the character of the relationship" (p. 98). However, if bonding is key to the mentoring relationship (Granovetter, 1972), then it is logical to assume that individuals who share commonalities find it easier to bond with one another.

Mentoring and African-American Graduate Students

Although Granovetter recognizes the need for a number of weak bonds with mentors over one strong bond (Emerson, 1962), the unique needs of African-American graduate students dictate the need to equally develop both kinds of bonds. Many African-American graduate students report the need to develop one strong tie with a faculty member, especially an African-American faculty member, because African-American faculty understand African-American students' unique needs. It is reported by some African-American faculty that they too had similar needs during their graduate school matriculation (Faison, 1993).

In addition, bonding poses a special problem for African-American graduate students who matriculate at predominantly white universities. These students are often culturally and socially different from their Euro-American counterparts and university professors. Nevertheless, they need opportunities for bonding with faculty and mentoring relationships, possibly more than other students. Successful mentoring relationships are marked by individuals possessing "enough interpersonal attraction to initiate a joint activity and to cement it together" (Gallimore, Tharp, and John-Steiner, 1990, p. 20). This, however, is an infrequent opportunity for African Americans at predominantly white universities.

In a study of cross-racial communication between predominantly white faculty and African-American graduate students (Jenkins, 1983), African-American graduate students were found to welcome the opportunity to be mentored by a caring faculty member who would take a personal interest in them. Unfortunately, some students report that in order to capture the attention of white faculty, they virtually have to already have an academic focus and all of their major questions answered before seeking advice. In other words, they do not feel that white faculty are concerned with helping them develop research interests or identify academic weaknesses. Nor are white faculty members reported to be available to provide the direct interaction needed to help students work through these weaknesses. Finally, these students report that faculty are insensitive to their individual needs and often make assumptions based on sterotypical beliefs that lead faculty to misdirect African-American students (Jenkins, 1983).

Another of the few studies that looks specifically at African-American graduate students' development and mentoring relationships (Smith & Davidson, 1992) reveals that

while a number of these students have attended conferences, very few have ever presented at these conferences or attempted publications. This limits the degree to which these students are seriously being prepared for entry into academia (Smith & Davidson, 1992).

In addition, Smith and Davidson (1992) report that one-third of the students in their sample had never received support in their professional development from university faculty or any other professionals in the wider community. However, 40% of the faculty who had given support to these students were African-American faculty, while African Americans comprised only 4% of the total faculty population (Smith & Davidson, 1992). These findings challenge the assumption made by Gill and Showell (1991) that suggests that when African-American women gain access in their career fields beyond the "glass ceiling," fear impedes their ability to mentor other African Americans. It appears that African-American faculty, despite their limited numbers, provide proportionately much of the mentoring for African-American graduate students on predominantly white campuses.

Further, Smith and Davidson (1992) add that a number of African-American graduate students are effectively mentored by white faculty. Although this was not a large percentage of participants in this study, these researchers suggest that the potential for cross-race mentoring must not be overlooked by African-American graduate students. However, both Jacobi (1991) and Valdez and Duran (1991), warn that while there is reported satisfaction and benefit to cross-race mentoring, there remain problems, ranging from mild to severe, that can surface. The training that is provided for potential mentors in formalized programs must address the possibility that these problems exist and provide pragmatic resolutions for reference.

Zey (1985) suggests that formalized mentoring programs will help to overcome some of the other barriers that keep minority students and majority faculty apart. However, Kram (1985) finds that formalized mentoring is risky for minorities. She reports that mentors in formalized programs are not usually given the option to participate. This somewhat coerced participation, which is common in formalized mentoring, breeds resentment by faculty because of the added responsibility of mentoring. It is certain that African-American graduate students on predominately white campuses do not need the added strain of a hostile major advisor/mentor that can result from this type of forced mentoring relationship.

Summary

In summary, it is clear that the unique bond between mentors and mentees is a complex dyad that possesses unusual strength and trust. This relationship is one of primary importance for the African-American graduate students (mentees); however, the reciprocal nature of the relationship makes it equally beneficial to the mentor. The psychosocial and career development functions that effective mentors provide to rising graduate students make the difference in students' realization of educational success. This is especially true with African-American graduate school students. However, African-American students face tremendous barriers in finding adequate mentoring relationships. The number of available mentors for these students is limited, and although these African-American students often find advisors, seldom do they find someone to help them effectively mediate the culture of their predominately white settings. The result unfortunately is reflected in the attrition rates and continuously declining graduation rates among African-American graduate students.

The cultural and interactional differences that exist between African-American graduate

students and university faculty are also major impediments in the development of relationships between African-American graduate students and university mentors. Notwithstanding, many of these graduate students progress through the coursework of the doctoral programs and prematurely leave. This continues to clog the pipeline that produces African-American voices in the higher education dialogue.

This study looks beyond the problems. It offers a framework on which to build solutions as it describes those significant characteristics and behaviors of successful mentors of African-American graduate students at predominately white universities and discusses what makes these relationships work.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to identify the behaviors exhibited by mentors of African-American doctoral students at predominantly white universities that contribute to the success of mentoring relationships.

Specifically, this study was guided by the following primary research questions:

1. How do African-American graduate students describe their mentoring experiences with university faculty on predominantly white campuses?
2. How do African-American graduate students understand mentoring in their academic and professional lives?
3. How do the mentors of African-American students understand mentoring in their lives?
4. How do university faculty perceive their role in mentoring relationships with African-American graduate students on

predominantly white campuses?

Framework

In an effort to understand the dynamics of the mentoring relationships between African-American graduate students and their mentors and to describe effective characteristics of mentors, it was important that an inductive search delineate the process undertaken in forming these relationships be explored. This type of research lended itself to qualitative methods that allow for in-depth descriptions of study participants' perspectives on certain phenomena related to mentors and the development of mentoring relationships.

Qualitative researchers have as a major premise the conveyance of "meaning" (Bogden & Biklen, 1992). This search for "meaning" creates an orientation toward theory that is often very different from that of quantitative researchers. Theory often guides quantitative endeavors as researchers seek to systematically test or prove postulates about a sample. However, qualitative researchers reference theory similarly to the way that sociologists and anthropologists use the term "paradigm" (Bogden & Biklen, 1992). Guba and Lincoln (1989) define a paradigm as "a basic set of beliefs, a set of assumptions . . . " (p. 80). Paradigms, therefore, cannot be proven or disproven; they are accepted as being logical propositions that guide the researchers' thinking. In the same manner, the theoretical orientations of qualitative researchers are discussed in terms of the ways in which those researchers view the world.

Methodologically, this research was guided by the constructivist paradigm. That is to say, the 'truth' about the processes involved in developing effective mentoring relationships between African-American graduate students and their mentors will be discussed in terms of a consensus of the information gathered. This consensus was derived from African-American

graduate students' and their mentors' socially-constructed realities about the mentoring dyad.

Also typical to the constructivist paradigm is the creation of data as a result of the direct interaction between participants (African-American graduate students and their mentors) and the researcher. Unlike quantitative research, with its objective epistemology, the researcher guides, probes, and prods during in-depth interview sessions with participants. The resulting data are the consequence of this interactionary process of inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

This method of inquiry produces "emic" descriptions that capture the participants' points of view about the phenomena under investigation. However, this method allows for the emergence of descriptions because of the researcher's intimate relationship with the data (Strauss, 1988). Although the term "method" is used in the above sentence, it is not intended to imply that there exists a required "methodology" or technique. "Rather, it is a style of doing qualitative analysis that includes a number of distinct features, such as theoretical sampling, and certain methodological features, like the making of constant comparisons and the use of a coding paradigm" (Strauss, 1988, p.5) to produce thick descriptions of the phenomena being studied.

Interviewing

More specifically, the data for this study were gathered using in-depth, recorded telephone interviews. Interviews may be employed in combination with other qualitative techniques (e.g. participant observations, document analysis). However, they can also be conducted as the major data collection strategy (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). In this study, in-depth interviews comprised the major data collection technique. These interviews were open-

ended, yet focused around an interview protocol. This protocol was intended to assure that specific questions were addressed in the context of the stories supplied by participants. That is, although there were some key questions that needed to be answered, the interview remained unstructured. The initial question of the interviewer prompted respondents to tell their stories. The interviewer probed participants, where appropriate, to assure that all questions are addressed. However, considerable latitude was given to participants in order to encourage complete disclosure of experiences, perspectives, and ideas about the mentoring experience.

This interviewing approach was a modification of the three-interview series which Seidman (1991) suggests for phenomenological interviews. Rather than attempting three separate interviews with each participant at different times, the types of questions asked during the one interview captured the important elements common to each of the three interviews identified in the three-interview series. This earnest attention to and modification of the types of questions asked was consistent with the qualitative methodology that promotes understanding the experiences of others and the meanings that are associated with these experiences (Seidman, 1991). However, each interview ended with the agreement that the interviewer could call the participant again for further clarification of information, if needed. There was consistent concern among participants that the call-back would not be another full interview. Student participants were not shy to discuss the concern that the call back could not take too much of their time.

Sample of Findings

Research Question #1

The mentoring experiences of African-American doctoral students are as diverse as the African American culture they identify with. A multitude of adjectives were used by mentees to describe their relationships with their mentors; yet, these relationships were clearly distinct from other types of relationships. In order to present theories describing the mentoring of African-American doctoral students, it is necessary to present logical findings of each step of the definition formation. This was done by outlining the reported different stages of the doctoral program that participants were in (i.e. beginning, middle, end). It was clear that these stages in the doctoral program yeilded different mentoring experiences and different understandings of the mentoring experience.

Deviations from traditional grammar in the interview dialogue were purposely not corrected other than to ensure clarity. It was important to the researcher to maintain the integrity of the participants' message during interviewing.

Graduate Students At the Beginning of Graduate Studies

The beginning of doctoral studies for many African-American students is often plagued by unfamiliar courses and personal adjustments. These factors are compounded for the African-American graduate students because they tend to be older than their white counterparts, and because many white students and faculty believe them to be affirmative action entrants on campus.

Tammy described her experience upon returning to graduate school as follows:

"Sure, I had been out of school for a few years, and when I came back

> and went to a white university, all that I heard from the people there was, 'Oh you've been out of school so long. You're not going to be able to catch up on all of this. And the theories and everything have changed'."

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Rob's illustration of the effects of being treated like an affirmative action entrant upon his arrival was as follows:

> "When I first came (to the University) I really needed a mentor to keep me focused. Just going to class was a strain. They tried to ignore whatever I said. I got so tired of these stupid little white women in class asking dumb questions and talking about quotas. I just zoned out because I wasn't no (damn) quota. I met the same--probably exceeded the requirements that they did. . . . But my mentor helped me to deal."

As a result of this kind of treatment, many African-American students seek mentors for encouragement, support and guidance. Mentors were said to be "the glue that kept things together" for many beginning African American students. One female participant, Lucy, reported that her mentor helped her to understand how to "react to" students and faculty who were offensive. She reported:

> "I'm from (a large northern inner city) and we don't seek to understand as fast as we seek to be understood. (Laughs) . . . . So I learned a lot from her. She's the epitome of sophistication. So I learned how to kill people with kindness. You know what I mean. How to be politically smart. And I don't know . . . She's just a very poised person, and I wanted that."

Mentoring relationships with beginning students usually form gradually as students take required courses to fulfill degree requirements. These students are generally eager to learn more about materials presented in classes that connect in some way to issues or answer questions that they have previously asked about particular phenomena. Of course, there are times that students are captivated by new theories and information received in their new graduate courses. Therefore, they seek a mentor (guru) for a deeper understanding and more

knowledge in that area. Emanuel was just that kind of student. He reported:

> "When I told him that I was interested in the doctoral program, he suggested that I take a course and get some idea of what it's going to be like for me to go through the department and understand what the expectations were like. . . .I took this class in post-structuralism because I was looking for something different--Something that--historically different than a lot of people in my class. I was captivated. Now I have noticed students in our session that aren't interested, and they don't buy into the philosophy. He'll challenge them. A lot of people feel uncomfortable . . . Nothing's wrong with that (to me). It's just that they are not into the new philosophy. . . . I've written some papers, and he thinks that my work is good. I knew then that he was somebody that I wanted to work with."

Also, beginning African-American doctoral students seek mentors for the purpose of connecting with power sources that can help facilitate personal and interpersonal needs, as well as other logistical processes that can impact students' successful academic progress. The role of mentor as an on-site powerbroker was mentioned by a number of participants. Gary felt stongly about his need to have an initial mentor that could help in non-academic ways. He felt that he really needed to learn the interpersonal skills that were necessary to successfully compete on a predominantly white campus:

> "He's like a brother to me. And that's what I needed. Well, heinteracts with the president of the college, of the university. He has interacted with division heads who are different with regard to the race point of view. But also different politically. Okay. Whether they be conservatives,progressives, feminists. You know. He's able to interact with them. I was fortunate enough to be appointed a Holmes Scholar and that helped put me in relationship with him. It's been very dynamic. I stay around (him) because it's a lesson. I've sat down with him where (he has) discussed with me how he worked people. And he told me how he does it. . . . He shares with me the tools of the trade. Things that will help me to get through it."

In summary, new graduate students need mentors for moral support, guidance, and connection. However, mentees continue to need their mentors throughout graduate school.

Graduate Students in the Middle of Graduate Studies

During the end of the second and third years of graduate study, many African-American graduate students had begun to formulate research topics and move toward framing a dissertation topic. During this stage, students had a better idea of faculty members with similar research interests or a particular interest in their topic. This issue of mutuality of research interest was a key criteria for developing mentoring relationships during this stage of graduate matriculation. Participants mentioned that the scholarship, knowledge, and tools needed to move through this formative period of their graduate school experience could only be met by someone who was genuinely interested in developing the student as a scholar. The key components that drove the mentoring dyad during this time of the students' graduate school life were research interest, knowledge, and time. However, participants reported that the need for a mentor to spend time with them was the most critical of the three. James gave this very typical response about his experience in choosing a mentor:

> " I actually chose (Dr. Right) as a mentor because he was the new kid in (Biology). He seemed real interested in me and my work. Most of all, he seemed willing to put time into actually helping me, which was a big difference than any other professors I chose. . . . He was like, let's sit down and talk about this. Come into my office. . . . We spent three hours together just talking about what I want to do. Seemed like he really wanted to work with me, which was totally a different experience. You feel like you should be kissing their feet if they give you any time."

It was during this stage that African-American students engaged in a number of colleague/peer type activities. Participants began to seek opportunities and/or be sought by faculty to write and co-publish. Graduate students and their mentors reported that conference presentations and other professional development efforts occured in the middle of graduate studies.

Although the peer relationships increased during this time, the mentor clearly continued to assume the responsibility of guiding the mentee toward his/her goal. Mentees reported that while the opportunities to work on a professor's research project, write and publish with a faculty member, or teach a class were very tempting, mentors kept them focused and balanced on the main goal--completing the graduate program.

Research Question #2

Consistently, participants reported that the mentoring experience was crucial to their successful academic and professional development. Although it would not be fair to say that African-American students can not successfully complete predominantly white doctoral programs without a mentor, the quality of the experience is seriously compromised without an adequate mentoring experience. Sandra's experience was a typical and detailed example of a student who completed a doctoral program without the benefits of a mentoring experience:

> "You can make it (out) without it. But they (mentors) can add so much and provide that additional support. Because a lot of what you need when you're in a graduate program is that support. I think that after you finish your program the mentor could still play a vital role. Because that person could help you in that--reviewing job possibilities. Even when you're on the job. I would think that you would have developed the kind of relationship where you could always call that person and they'd be there to listen and give you some suggestions."

When asked to describe the kinds of things she did not know, Sandra said:

> "Definitely, because going into the interview, I didn't know what to expect. I did not know the right questions to ask . . . Like, I was told up front that I will teach. But I wasn't told the structure of the department that I was going to be in. I wasn't really told how the teacher education program worked. I didn't get information about the state certification program. Because if had I known, I never would have gone (to the University). Because I don't even agree with it. Information on salary increases, committee assignments. You hear them talk about your first year you won't get committee assignments. Then the Dean decides

> that you're going to be on the committee--when the Dean decides--then you're on the committee. I would think that if I had had a mentor, I would have had some type of discussion about salary. And that would have opened my eyes to some things. They might quote this tremendous salary that sounds good going in, but now I know that you have to get as much as you can going in, because your raise depends on a whole lot more than merit--like funding. There might not be enough in the pool to warrant even a merit raise."

There was no question that African-American graduate students understood mentoring to be crucial to their personal, professional, and academic well-being on predominantly white campuses. However, the range of importance given to these relationships did vary and are noteworthy. Although, as stated above, most participants understood mentoring as crucial, over one-half of the participants had problems with the perception and use of the terminology--mentoring. The perception of empty vessels standing before full fountains was totally unacceptable among most of these African-American graduate students. Most participants reported that it was essential that university faculty appreciate who African-American students are and respect what they bring to the mentoring relationship. Janice addressed this issue succinctly, and her comment is typical of other participants' responses:

> "They have to know that, yes, we are graduate students. But that many of us came out of professions before we came to graduate school. We are professionals already--and adults. We have probably been teachers or whatever. We don't lose that professionalism just because we are graduate students. So I think it is important that there be some respect for that fact. Not only respect for the mentor, but the mentee too. There is not so much a dependancy on the mentor--each is learning from the other. You're giving what the mentor needs and vice versa... It goes both ways. Maybe not to the same degree, but the mentee does bring some things to the table as well."

It was clear that the mentoring experience was understood by participants as being quite different from other types of faculty-student relationships. Although most participants

reported actually being mentored over their lifetime by more than one person, the student-faculty mentoring relationship was described as an exclusive one. The intensity and the amount of personal time required by both the mentee and the mentor make multi-faculty mentoring difficult at best. James had the following to say on this issue:

> "Dr. (Mitchell) is taking up more and more of my time in subtle ways. It's been difficult to give other professors that kind of charge. They might want the same sort of thing, but there is just not time (left)."

Mentoring experiences were reported to be a part of the African-American culture. Tammy reported that she had always had a mentor because mentoring is a way of life for those African Americans the black community deemed to have "potential." Denise reported that:

> "It (mentoring) has meant everything to me. I am absolutely positive that I wouldn't be anywhere near as far along if I hadn't had mentors. And I've had them all of my life. And I'm an only (child). So I don't have like siblings or that kind of thing. But I've always had people who saw my potential. They were interested in me doing well. And I always wanted to be a sponge. I wanted to learn a lot from whoever could teach me anything. 'Cause I always thought that it put me a little bit ahead."

In summary, African-American graduate school mentees, as well as students that were not mentored, understood mentoring to be critically important. Without question, these participants recognized that successful academic and career development could not take place without the guidance and support of mentoring experiences. However, these participants understood mentoring to be a relationship of mutual respect and reciprocity. There was very little tolerance among these participants for mentors who did not recognize the wealth of knowledge, experience, diversity and professionalism that African-American graduate students usually brought into a doctoral program. Therefore, some participants were not comfortable

with the term mentor. Yet, without fail, they all described varying degrees of the positive nature of these relationships.

Research Question #3

Most of the mentor participants reported that the mentoring experience had greatly impacted their lives. When asked the role that mentoring had played in their present personal success, there was no shortage of words. Several of the mentors' memories brought deep emotional responses. Most brought back fond memories of an encourager, a supporter, and even at times a parenting relationship.

White Male Mentors

Typical to the responses of white male mentors were the kinds of things that mentors provided that were useful and continue to be useful in the academy. Professor Hank reported that:

> "I worked with a great guy. I mean he was bright and he was hard and sensitive all at the same time. . . . And he helped me. He did a lot of favors for me. He introduced me to a much bigger world. He let me know what I needed to do to be successful out there. And that I had to make myself public. I had to write and to speak. And to go out there and be a part of the world. He really helped me to do that. He gave me some . . . He opened some doors for me. And I feel in a way that's what I do for Bob."

There was evidence of the real bonding that took place between the mentor and mentee. This is heard in Professor Wades', account of his co-mentors. He shared the extent to which he and his mentors bonded--so much so that their recent deaths were very emotional losses:

> "And unfortunately both of them passed away a number of years ago. And I cried at both funerals. They were special people. (voice fades a bit) They were not easy, but they were people that gave of their time, who gave me their talents, who felt that there was something that they

> thought that I had to offer, and were willing to get that out of me. They were special people in my life. They had a part in shaping who and what I have become--whatever it is."

There was one white male mentor participant who reported not being mentored. However, further discussions revealed that he was indeed mentored. However, his "aversion" for the term--mentor--kept him from using it. He retorted:

> "I wasn't mentored! I resisted it! The word and the act of mentoring (disgustingly). . . . Your interview questions are just wonderful. However, I have a horrible aversion to the term mentor. So I'd like to bring that up right here. There is something purely semantical about this and so... There are times when the definition and the use of the word is for me fairly aversive. This is to say that there is almost the sense that there is a person above. And in a sense, knowledge is flowing and mentoring relationships mean that the professor is in a sense an intellect and a scholar that is somehow greater and above and here is this student that is drinking from this fountain of knowledge and in a sense being mentored means this sort of sifting down. And I don't like that at all. If by mentoring we mean a very equal reciprocal relationship. And it is only different because I'm in one place and the student is in another. I am a professor and the student is at this time trying to be a professor or whatever. I have access to certain types of literature and the student is at this point acquiring the literature. A very equal and reciprocal relationship. . . . If a student were to say: he was instrumental in helping. He was there to bounce ideas off. He was there to guide and help and offer me options; that's fine. . . . Having said all of that, there were a couple of professors in my doctoral program that I just grew to love. There was just a deep sense of affect."

There was no doubt that these mentor participants perceived mentoring during graduate school to have greatly influenced their present success.

White Female Mentors

Other mentor participants credited their mentors with teaching them everything they know about higher education. For example, Professor Howell, while distinguishing between her advisor and her mentor, suggested the following:

> "I had both an advisor and a mentor, and they were not the same person. My mentor was someone who really taught me the ropes. I'm a dean now, and you better believe that while my advisor made sure that I was on the straight and narrow in terms of taking the right courses, my mentor made sure that I learned the politics. He taught me all that I know about being a successful entrepreneurial scholar. He taught me a lot."

African-American Female Mentors

Over one-half of the African-American female mentors reported very intense mentoring relationships during their graduate school experience. There were two mentors who were not mentored by university faculty, yet they reported the tremendous impact that outside mentoring has had on their present success. For one mentor, the memories of her university mentor brought mixed emotions--sadness and joy. Professor Toliver tearfully shared her recollections of her graduate school mentoring experience:

> "After all of my course work had been done. And this was the dean of the school of Social Work. I had had such a difficult time with my first advisor. He was bent on destroying me. And thank God he was moving out of there into a new job, miles and miles away, or I never would have gotten out. . . . Well, anyway, there was no one else who had space and the dean took me on. You know, I haven't given this much thought until now. (Voice cracks, cries [pause]) You know part of the way that I mentored Lucy is really the way that I was mentored by him. (He was) immediately supportive. . . . As a matter of fact, he helped me to get my first faculty position. I really didn't want to teach or anything after my initial graduate school experience. He nurtured me and helped me to choose higher education. . . . I'm sure that Lucy told you that I retired about three years ago!"

Professor Toliver went on to say that graduate school was very difficult for African-Americans during the time that she was a student. Even though she is now a retired professor, the memories of her graduate school mentoring experience brought back pain. However, she was adamant that her tears were for the "gracious manner" in which her mentor had taken her on

and they made "lemonade out of lemons." In other words, she reported that they took a very negative experience and made something beautiful out of it.

After a lengthy discussion of the many opportunities for support and encouragement that were provided by her mentor, Professor Morgan concluded with the following:

> "I'm just thinking about this now that you've asked. At every major transition in my professional life (my mentor) has had a role to play. She is not a Black woman. She is Jewish and married to another academic with two sons, and (she) has been there for me in terms of family issues and professional issues and issues just concerned with being a woman. She's been very helpful, obviously. . . .What I'm telling you, Jewel, is that she opened the way for me in the sense that she wasn't there (many times) but she was able to tell me who was there."

African-American Male Mentors

Professor Zach, an African-American male mentor, recounted fond memories of his mentor who recently passed away. He described a real respect and trust relationship that existed between the two of them:

> "My mentor was very bright. The scholar that I had a great deal of respect for. He was very humane. He was always helpful. . . . He was just that kind of guy who always went to bat for me. . . . And he was the kind of person that I could trust. He just died a month ago. He was a good person--consistently so. My--and he respected me. He had an interest in me as a person and an interest in my family."

All of the African-American mentors, males and females, reported that they were interested in their mentees' entire immediate families, e.g., their spouses and children. This attention to the graduate student's family shaped these mentor participants' focus on the development of the "whole" African-American graduate student. That is, African-American mentors included the immediate family of their graduate student into the mentoring relationship. Professor Zach and Professor Phillips (African-American males), along with

Professor Morgan and Professor Jones (African-American females), gave very detailed explanations of why this "global" mentoring is important. Professor Zach summed it up like this:

> "Because if you're interested in that person's family you have more of a global view and interest in the individual. You're in a better position to help them. And to narrow your focus to them and not be interested in their family, you might run the risk of doing something that might be counter to the interest of both. And if you're interested in the family, the likelihood is that that will be reciprocated. Sometimes the (family members) can bring things to your attention that the person (mentee) would never bring to you. For example, one lady whose husband was a modest fellow who had won an award for teaching and he wouldn't tell me or anyone else--she told me about it and as a result I brought it to the attention of the department chair and did some follow-up and offered the student an assistantship. That only happened because there had been an interest displayed in that person's family and they had come to see me as a friend. She had come to see me as a friend of her husband's. Other times, when there are students having some difficulty and don't want to tell you about it, you can find out about it, usually, from the spouse and make some allowances--provide some referrals and asssistance."

Professor Morgan reported that taking the whole family into the mentoring of the graduate student is absolutely essential. Her comments added a little more focus to why this inclusion is necessary. She commented that:

> "My mentor was interested in everything about me. I was a chronic aborter and we really wanted children very badly. She knew that this could effect my studies if it were not addressed. We (spouse and mentee) were so young. For me mentoring means taking on the whole family. I visited my mentees' parents. All of my students--I've met their families. I've always known family members because I have to convince them to release and let the young person become all that they can be. Because in our families we have so many needs and very often families have no concept of what it means to get a Ph.D. Not in a sense of selfishness and time. But ultimately it is that selflessness in terms of doing good science and being good scientists. It (doctoral students) is an inadequately understood group--in that the work is hard. And they

> shouldn't have to worry about stuff at home. They should be given support by, for instance, not being intrusive. I've always made that clear because I have no intentions of ever competing with a spouse or competing with loved ones. We have to be partners to get the student through."

Regardless of where the initial conversations started on the issue of the personal mentoring experiences of these mentor participants, all of the interviews ended with the mentor participant expressing that their mentor had a profound impact on their present success. It is within this frame that these mentor participants described their own roles as mentors to African-American graduate students at predominantly white universities.

Research Question #4

The Mentor's Role

The roles that mentor participants perceived they fulfilled for African-American graduate students were solicited by asking participants to describe their role in the mentoring relationship. An understanding of the roles that participants perceived themselves to perform was clearly framed by the participants' definition of mentoring. The roles that emerged are categorized under five general role behaviors: (1) Academic, (2) Facilitative, (3) Professional Development, (4) Career Support, and (5) Personal Support. The appended Table 1 details characteristics of each role behavior.

Although all of the mentor participants in this study referenced their role as an advisor and guide, only one participant used the term--mentor--exclusively to mean advisor. Professor Johns, very matter of factly stated:

> "I'm sure that it (mentoring) could mean--and I could do, a lot of things. But in my experience, it has played out that I've served as the advisor on the dissertation. Because of limited time on everybody's part, you end up

> becoming more closely connected with students that you're serving as an advisor. So there aren't students for which I am not an advisor that I mentor in any way, So for me it has been primarily, more of an advising type thing."

This mentoring relationship was clearly limited to what mentors themselves described as the least intensive role that the mentor performs for students. Intensity can best be understood to mean the degree of personal connectedness between the mentor and mentee. The researcher did not make any attempts to pre-define mentoring for participants. Therefore, participants' definitions of mentoring emerged during discussions about the role(s) of the mentor.

Another role category presented was mentor as a facilitator. All of the mentors described acts of facilitation as part of the duties they performed as mentors However, Professor Hollimon, an officially assigned mentor, is an excellent example of the mentor exclusively performing the role of facilitator. He reported being the person who "sort of started the Holmes Scholars Program at (the University)," and said he was directly responsible for getting the things that the scholars needed to help them through their academic program. However, as an exclusively facilitative mentor, he recognized the lack of opportunity to engage in a "real relationship" with the mentees. Like the exclusive advisor role, the facilitative role is less intense than some of the other identified roles. However, the facilitative role, performed in connection with other more intense roles, was reported to be a very satisfying and fulfilling mentoring option. Professor Howell, who is a dean at her university, shared that her mentee, "Now has a co-advisor/mentor because of her (mentee's) particular substantive area of interest. I knew that she wanted to come back (to school) full-time. So I made arrangements to find the financial support for her so that she could do that. I did find a

research assistantship. . . . When I think of the mentoring that I've done for Denise, it's been mostly facilitating doing what she wants to do. The other thing that I try to be available for is to encourage her to follow her instincts in terms of what she wants to do. We were talking about whether she should get the Ed.D. or the Ph.D. . . ."

A third role, the career supporter, while not considered a very intense role, was reported to denote some degree of a relationship between the African American graduate student and the university faculty member. Although Jack could not fairly say that he was mentored, he did benefit from the career support offered by his faculty advisor. He reported:

> "The guy that recruited me into the program--he could have been a mentor, (but) he left shortly after I was accepted into the program. My first semester I was asked to write a book chapter with one of the professors that I had for class. He sort of worked with me through that period. . . . I mean he read the stuff I wrote and we debated from time to time because we had very different views. Maybe that was mentoring, but that's not what I considered it. This guy and my advisor both wrote glowing letters of recommendation for me. They assisted in helping me to make connections with other universities when I was looking for a job. That's really the only area that they helped me in and I feel that mentoring is more substantive than that."

The next role category, professional development, advanced the mentee-mentor by creating opportunities for a more intensive and personal relationship. The professional development role is difficult to assume without also acting as a strong academic advisor and facilitator. However, the mentor as professional developer involves the mentee-mentor pair "considering each other as co-workers and friends," working toward a common goal. Professor Hank, despite his color blind approach to mentoring, succinctly described his professional development role as Bob's mentor:

> "Well, I've tried to keep Bob involved in things I'm doing as much as possible. That's what I try to do generally with students that I mentor. Because in a way, I'm

somewhat different. I suppose my view of what a doctoral program is--I'm not horribly impressed in formal course work that people take (at the doctoral level). I think there are some important courses that people need, but I think most of doctoral education comes from working with people (in the field) who are doing things. And we're pretty active. . . . So we want Bob and others to be as involved as possible. Work together as colleagues. And that's pretty much how we perform. . . . Well, I think that Bob and I had an agreement early on that we would feel free to come in and say anything that we thought. We were going to be completely honest with each other as friends. So I feel it is my responsibility to let him know what being in this environment as a junior faculty is like. The value of real scholarship. Preparing him and getting him published, presenting at conferences with me--and last year on his own. It was important that I introduce him to other people in the field. Talk to him honestly about where I've had success and where I've had failures. But this is my responsibility to all of my mentees."

Most mentor participants agreed that it is the professional development role that distinguishes the advisor from the mentor. Even though the next role to be discussed, the personal support role, is described as the most intense, the professional development role overlaps with the personal support role. Personal support is discussed separately, however, because there are mentors who are personal supporters who do not function in the role of professional developer, academic advisor, career supporter or facilitator.

The mentor as a personal supporter was described as the most intense of the five role categories because it involved personal attachment and frequent, outside-of- the-academy contact between the mentee and mentor. This role was described as one that involves access and availability for the mentor to meet needs--whatever they may be. Professor Toliver, adequately explained the supporter role by saying:

"As a mentor I believed strongly in being there for the person. Being one of the strong supports for that person. Supporting him or her both mentally, emotionally and academically. I used to hold the hands of many students. So being there, and that's being there around the clock. And that was not an offer that I made to everyone. She could call me anytime that she needed me. That was reserved for the mentee. . . . Knowing the environment in which the mentee was functioning. And

> helping her to navigate through that environment was very important. She was sharp academically and really didn't need my help in that area. What she really needed was my support and encouragement, and that's what I provided."

This kind of intense support was provided by a number of the mentor participants. However, all of the African-American mentors stressed the need and the intensity of their personal support role. These mentors insisted that the success of African-American graduate students was greatly enhanced when mentors offer support and encouragement. They further asserted that African American mentors were able to offer support and encouragement to all African American graduate students who were willing to accept it, not just those that initially appeared to be "brilliant" or "good catches." Further, African-American mentors discussed a committment to seeing the potential in students, especially that "diamond in the rough" student who is frequently ignored or dismissed.

Professor Zach's comment illustrated this point:

> "On most campuses, especially at (the University), we are like little specks there and it's that way among the faculty too. So black students need a great deal of encouragement, especially if there are minorities available (mentors). Now this is not to say that there are not wonderful white professors that don't offer a great deal of support--especially to the minority student that they know is a winner. But I think that we black professors offer even more encouragement to those that they see as average students."

Without fail, all white mentor participants discussed mentees' in terms of their intelligence, capabilities, and the quality of experiences that African- American mentees' brought to the program. African-American mentors recognized these same traits; however, they discussed them as givens--that is, that most African-American doctoral students possessed these qualities. Consequently, African-American mentors identified the potential that they saw in mentees, and somehow each felt a sense of responsibility to help students discover and

develop their potential.

Results

The most important and significant findings of this study were:

(1) The functions of mentors that met the needs of African-American graduate students depended upon the students' stage of graduate school matriculation (i.e. beginning of graduate studies, middle of graduate studies, and the end of graduate studies).

(2) The most critical commodity needed by mentees from mentors is their (mentors) time.

(3) Both mentees and mentors were opposed to the traditional perception and usage of the term "mentoring." They each saw the relationship as a reciprocal one between two professionals.

(4) African-American graduate students bring a wealth of knowledge, experience and expertise to the mentoring relationship that must not be ignored if the mentoring relationship is to be successful.

(5) The personal mentoring relationships of mentors during their graduate school experience greatly impacts the degree and manner in which they mentor African-American graduate students.

(6) African-American mentees choose univeristy mentors by attending to their personal characteristics more than activity setting and positional characteristics. However, once established, mentees expect and desire academic rigor, care, and ultimately a collegial relationship with their mentors.

(7) African-American mentors and white female mentors were more apt to perceive the differences in the psychosocial and emotional needs of African-American mentees than were white male mentors.

(8) Both mentees and mentors understand the mentoring role to be critically important in preparing for professional careers in the academy.

(9) The cultural and interactional differences previously thought to be inhibitors to the formation of successful mentoring relationships between African-American graduate students and their university professors on predominantly white campuses were not evident among these participants.

(10) Race and gender differences were not found to be problematic for African-American students and their major professors (mentors) on predominantly white campuses once mentoring relationships were formed.

Discussion

A survey conducted by the Office of Scientific and Engineering Personnel (1995) reports that out of 39,754 doctorates awarded in the United States of America during 1993, only 1,106 or 2.7% went to African Americans (Thurgood & Clarke, 1995). This represents a slight decrease in the 3.7% of all doctorates awarded to African Americans in 1992 (Blacks Earn Fewer Doctorates, 1993); however, it also represents a slight increase in the raw number of doctorates awarded to African Americans over the past three years. Despite this increase, the number of African-American graduate students that start graduate programs on predominantly white campuses and leave before graduation remains quite high (Kraft, 1991; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985; Tracey & Sedlacek, 1987). These findings support the

recommendation that mentoring relationships among African-American graduate students and their major professors is a possible solution to this attrition problem (Faison, 1993).

A full discussion of the mentoring of African-American graduate students is limited due to a lack of supportive empirical research in the literature that focuses on African-American mentoring. However, mentoring has been researched extensively. The literature on mentoring reflects considerable discussion about informal and formal mentoring and the roles and functions that are associated with each (Adams, 1992; Cameron & Blackburn, 1981; Chao et al., 1991; Holland, 1993; Kram, 1988; Valdez & Duran, 1991). While most of the early work on mentoring was completed from a business perspective (Kram, 1988), many of the findings from those earlier studies have been validated for higher education (Adams, 1992; Cameron & Blackburn, 1981; Holland, 1993; Valdez & Duran, 1991). The remaining discussion will be organized around the major findings and definitional/perceptual issues of African-American graduate students on predominantly white campuses.

The major difference between this study and previous studies is that this study focuses specifically on the mentoring of African-American graduate students on predominantly white campuses. In this work, these students' understanding of their mentoring experiences with university faculty depend on their needs and their stage in the graduate school experience. In the beginning of the graduate school experience, students need a mentor that can offer support, encouragement and guidance in order to expiditiously adjust to and overcome the barriers common in the university setting. Usually during the second or third year of the graduate school experience, students' need for professional development becomes a key focus. Finally, right before graduation, students need a mentor-colleague to assist in preparing them

to enter their chosen career.

Although students' needs during these stages somewhat corresponded to Kram's (1988) four stages of mentoring relationships, the findings do not indicate that all mentoring relationships go through the separation and redefinition stage. What is evident is that for the African-American mentee-mentor dyads, there is more of a chance that the separation stage will become necessary. Same race mentoring dyads among African-Americans can be so intense that there is a need for a declared period of independence and redefinition to prepare for the future peer type relationship. One participant, in describing her relationship with her African-American mentor, said:

> "And there later came a point where I had to separate the mothering mentor from the professional. She had reached a point where she was no longer mothering. I was not prepared for that. There was a professional relationship that she was clearly trying to develop with me. I had to come to the realization that I couldn't cling anymore. She had to work through issues as well. To be able as she did to move from mentoring student, to mentoring young professional." (Mentee #11)

Overall, this separation and redefinition stage is averted by understanding that African-American graduate students are adults who bring a wealth of knowledge and expertise to the relationship. Therefore, the tremendous amount of time spent between the mentee and mentor involves reciprocal activities where there is no distinct superior/subordinate position; thus, the bonding is very clearly one of colleagues. Granovetter's (1972) reference to strong bonds being enhanced by the amount of time that individuals spend together is supported by the

findings. However, Auster's (1984) theory that power dependency causes role strain is not supported by evidence in these mentoring relationships.

Thirteen of the 15 mentors admit to mentoring African-American students in much the same way that they were mentored as graduate students. Most mentors are fondly remembered. Therefore, mentors feel a sense of responsibility to replicate the essential behaviors of mentoring, learned from their mentors.

Although all mentors recognize the importance of mentoring African- American graduate students, white male mentors do not perceive the experience to be any more critical for African-American students than for any other ethnic group. It is evident that there was no special effort put forth to mentor African-American graduate students by white male mentors. On the other hand, Smith and Davidson's (1992) report that the majority of African-American graduate students are mentored by African-American faculty is supported by these findings.

Issues of race, culture and gender were not found to be inhibitors to African-American graduate students' finding and/or maintaining mentoring relationships. Although white male mentors are plentiful at predominantly white institutions, African-American students are not limited to mentoring relationships with them. Findings support Smith and Davidson's (1992) report that, despite the fact that only 4% of the total faculty population in higher education is African-American, they mentor over 40% of African-American graduate students. Participants involved in mentoring relationships with white males report that scholarship and a willingness to work were the prevailing factors that helped to establish and maintain the mentoring relationship. Consistently, the data supports Kram's (1985) psychosocial and career development functions of the mentor in the mentoring relationship. Additionally, the data

evidenced another mentoring function--writing skill development-- as being important to students who do not have intense mentoring relationships and those in formal mentoring relationships. This skill development function usually provides the mentee with someone who can edit writings when completing the dissertation.

Finally, the data concurs with Zey (1985) that formalized mentoring can help bring minority graduate students and university faculty together. However, key to the success of formalized mentoring is what takes place once African American students and university faculty are brought together. Findings indicate that there is a need for formalized mentoring programs to go beyond "bringing diversity to the university." There must be bonding between the student and the major professor in order for a successful mentoring relationship to occur. Suggestions for formalized mentoring programs will be discussed in the recommendation section of this discussion.

Definitional Issues. The data are very clear in support of the definitional delimmas recognized in the traditional literature of mentoring (Healy & Welchert, 1990). The range of definitions are vast. However, this research reveals some disagreement by both mentors and mentees with the traditional definitions of mentoring. Those traditional definitions are limiting. For example, the operational definition of a mentor in this research is a university faculty or staff member who is an older, wiser, and more experienced adult than the mentee and who helps the African-American graduate student to complete his/her graduate school program and start a career.

These participants are clear that mentors are guides, supporters, and encouragers, who involve the mentee in activities that enhance their educational as well as professional/career

aspirations. However, unlike this definition, African-American mentees and their mentors have an aversion to the term "mentoring" being used to describe 'a mighty scholar endowing the peasant student with knowledge.' It is clear from the data that African-American graduate students often come to predominantly white universities with experience and expertise that adds to the university community. The mentee is usually entering another phase in his/her adult development and is often not a novice in his/her career. Although there were references made to a 20 to 25 year age difference between mentees and mentors, rarely did the dyad represent a young adult mentee and a middle-aged mentor. African-American doctoral student's average age ranges between 40-49 years (Faison, 1993). Therefore, the 25 year span for African-American students is often between a middle-aged adult mentee and an older adult mentor. Also, there are at least three occasions in this study where the mentee and mentor are either the same age or where the mentee is older than the mentor. Jacobi (1991) and Smith and Davidson (1992) define the mentor as a more experienced adult than the mentee. The data suggests that this is not usually the case with the African-American mentee. Although the mentor has expertise in the academy, usually the mentee brings expertise from another related area. However, it is reported by the mentors in this study that, because of the status of the mentee associated with tradtional definitions, mentees often lack confidence in the university setting and mask the expertise and experience they have brought to the university setting.

Another definitional limitation involves how traditional definitions ignore the mentoring needs of African-American graduate students that are based on the stage of the student in his/her graduate school program. The continuum of roles provided by the mentor that range from advising to encouraging-supporting also can not be ignored. This work suggests a

broader, more expansive defintion that represents these variables.

The final definitional issue, generativity, is to some degree supported by the findings. However, it is clear that these mentors not only felt a personal need to pass on the tools and processes of the academy, but they expressed a deep sense of responsibility for creating a more diverse and balanced academy. African Americans and other minorities in the academy offer this diversity. Therefore, the mentoring of African-American graduate students increases the potential for faculty to satisfy issues of generativity as well as to provide a multi-ethnic voice in the higher education discourse.

Clearly, a more contextualized definition emerges from these findings that describes the mentoring experiences of these African American graduate students. Mentoring is a reciprocal relationship between an adult student and a university faculty member who are engaged in a bonding process that ranges from a low intensity to a high intensity level. The mentoring relationship is guided by the graduate students' needs, which are dependent upon the students' stage in the graduate school experience. This relationship raises students' consciousness of the interactional rules as well as the academic skills necessary to graduate from the academy and move toward a career.

Implications For Practice

These findings imply that there is a tremendous need for African-American graduate students on predominantly white campuses to be mentored by university faculty. Without these crucial relationships, African-American graduate students will not be properly prepared for careers in the acedemy, and the "pipeline problem" will continue (Astin, 1982). One of the most significant missions that higher education can undertake to increase the number of

African-American doctoral graduates is simply hiring and tenuring more African Americans and sensitive white female faculty members. However simplistic this approach may appear, the reality indicates that much more has to be done to decrease the present disparity between the numbers of African-American graduate students who successfully complete doctoral programs at predominantly white universities and those who do not.

Many universities are proposing formalized mentoring programs, like the Holmes Scholars' Network, to meet the needs of African-American graduate students. However, the reports of the African-American graduate students in this work verify that such programs are not enough. This is not to imply that there are no successful formalized mentoring programs or that the Holmes Scholars' Network is unsuccessful. However, formalized mentoring programs have their limitations. The issue of getting faculty to attend training sessions that would be necessary for a training program to work is one such limitation. However, intense research into the successful mentoring dyads that exist between African-American graduate students and their mentors is a wise and possibly revealing endeavor as we rethink our present practices and plan for future changes.

Additionally, in regards to training university faculty to effectively mentor African-American graduate students, there are data that suggest such programs have not been effective. A key consideration when proposing faculty training is the reality that university faculty do not attend training programs. Faculty are usually already swamped with advising students, publishing research, and community/committee work; therefore, there is little incentive to add to this intense schedule. The possible problems associated with offering direct financial remunerations were cited in the larger paper. However, connecting mentoring training

program attendance to faculty merit increases is not unthinkable. This incentive, in addition to possibly reducing the course load or required research for faculty who participate in mentoring training programs has merit. Regardless of the incentive, mentoring must have broad-based support in the university setting. A restructuring of organizational structures, processes and rewards as suggested by Moore (1982) is perhaps the best place to start to build this support.

Another recommendation for practice involves the training of African- American graduate students. These students need to be trained to become mentees. Denise is one of seven mentees who identified the need to train African-American students how to be mentored on predominantly white campuses. She said:

> "... But mentees need a training program too. They need to be taught to be mentored, where to find a mentor, and what a mentor looks like. Because a lot of the mentoring relationships depend upon the mentee being able to actively find a mentor. Who knows what the characteristics are? What are the powerline structures? ... When (a professor) continues to ask you how are you doing or what are you doing, that person has an interest in you. But you must pick up on the signals. So what you say is, 'I'd love to tell you what I do; How about lunch?' (Laughs) And then get on it! Call their secretary or whatever, make an appointment for lunch and tell your story. But we don't know these things going into graduate school."

A seminar topic during graduate student orientation should address the graduate school experience. The mentee participants were all first generation doctoral students in their families. Therefore, discussions about the culture of graduate school is less likely to be a part of African-American students' early socialization. Those mentees whose parents were college graduates reported that their parents received their degrees from historically black colleges and not predominantly white institutions. The need for mentoring on predominantly white campuses is uniquely different. Students need to be oriented to experiences in this different

university culture.

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